

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SA CARNEIRO

1. THE SECRETARY MET ON MARCH 3 WITH PPD SYG FRANCISCO SA CARNEIRO. MAIN TOPICS DISCUSSED WERE PORTUGUESE POLITICS AND ELECTION PROSPECTS, PORTUGAL'S GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IN LIGHT OF THE AFM/PARTIES AGREEMENT, THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN PORTUGAL, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS, CUBANS IN PORTUGAL AND PORTUGAL'S NEED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. DISCUSSION IS SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. PORTUGUESE INTERNAL POLITICS AND THE PARTIES' ELECTION PROSPECTS: SA CARNEIRO PREDICTED THE PPD WOULD WIN 35-40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, WITH THE SOCIALISTS RECEIVING ABOUT 10 PERCENT LESS THE "CENTRISTS"(RESUMABLY THE CDS) 15-20 PERCENT AND THE COMMUNISTS 5-7 PERCENT. HE ATTRIBUTED THE SOCIALISTS' 1975 ELECTORAL SUCCESS TO THE PS PREEMPTION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST SENTIMENT DURING HIS (SA CARNEIRO'S) ILLNESS "IN AN ANTI-COMMUNIST ELECTION".

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HE ALLEGED THAT ONLY SOCIALIST INTRANSIGENCE PREVENTED

PPD-PS COOPERATION, BLAMING THE SPLIT ON "MARXIST ELEMENTS" WITHIN THE PS WHO FAVOR "MEDITERRANEAN SOCIALISM". HE SAID THE SOCIALISTS HOPED TO RECEIVE 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND GOVERN ALONE; FAILING THAT, THEY WOULD PREFER OPPOSITION.

THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT PS LEADER MARIO SOARES HAD GIVEN HIM IMPRESSION HE WOULD NOT WORK WITH THE COMMUNISTS. SECRETARY EMPHASIZED NEED FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TO WORK TOGETHER AND OBSERVED QUARREL TO THE BITTER END AMONG THEM WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE.

3. PORTUGAL'S GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE AFM/PARTIES AGREEMENT: SA CARNEIRO SAID THE AGREEMENT'S MOST IMPORTANT FEATURE WAS THE MILITARY'S WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW FROM POLITICS. WHILE THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL BE MORE 'POWERFUL' THAN THE PRIME MINISTER, LATTER WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT WILL CHOOSE THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE BASIS OF THE ELECTION RESULTS AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE RC AND PARTIES REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT, BUT SA CARNEIRO THOUGHT THAT IF THERE WERE LESS THAN 10 PERCENT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTIES, PRESIDENT MIGHT CHOOSE MILITARY OFFICER AS PRIME MINISTER. THIS WOULD BE UNWELCOME.

4. THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN PORTUGAL: SA CARNEIRO SAID THE AFM/PARTIES AGREEMENT GAVE THE ARMED FORCES A ROLE "NORMAL" IN A DEMOCRACY, ALTHOUGH SOME ARMED FORCES MEMBERS WERE DISPLEASED BY THE PROSPECT. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, TO PROVIDE A "PROPER" MILITARY ROLE WHICH WOULD HELP THE ARMED FORCES AVOID POLITICAL TEMPTATION AND NATO COULD HELP CREATE SUCH A ROLE THROUGH PROPOSALS SUCH AS THE "MOBILE FORCE" OF WHICH SA CARNEIRO APPROVED. THE SECRETARY ASKED FOR SA CARNEIRO'S ASSESSMENT OF THE RELIABILITY OF THE ARMED FORCES, AND SA CARNEIRO REPLIED HE FELT THOSE IN THE NORTH AND UNDER THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF WERE RELIABLE. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THE NEW PRESIDENT WOULD BE A MILITARY MAN, BUT THAT COSTA GOMES HAD NO CHANCE OF BEING ELECTED.

5. AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS: THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSION, SA
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CARNEIRO RAISED THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST PENETRATION IN AFRICA. HE BELIEVED COMMUNIST SUCCESS IN ANGOLA DIRECTLY RESULTED FROM THEIR PERIOD OF POWER IN PORTUGAL. HE SAID THE "AFRICAN PROBLEM" WORRIES NOT ONLY PORTUGAL BUT ALSO SPAIN, GREECE, TURKEY AND YUGOSLAVIA, SINCE THE SOVIETS HAD PENETRATED THESE COUNTRIES "IN THE FORM OF CUBANS". HE PREDICTED A "BLOODY WAR" IN MOZAMBIQUE WITHIN TWO MONTHS, POSSIBLY INVOLVING RHODESIA, WHICH TRIBAL ANIMOSITY TO

FRELIMO WOULD PROVOKE. AMERICAN CREDIBILITY HAD SUFFERED FROM CONGRESS' REFUSAL TO PERMIT US INTERVENTION AGAINST SOVIET ENCROACHMENTS, AND IT WAS IMPORTANT TO GIVE AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN LEADERS CONFIDENCE THAT THE U.S. WILL PLAY ITS ROLE IN DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT.

6. CUBANS IN PORTUGAL? THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER SA CARNEIRO BELIEVED THE SOVIETS WERE ACTIVE IN PORTUGAL. SA CARNEIRO RESPONDED THAT THEY WERE ACTIVE THROUGH THE CUBANS, WHO HAD RECENTLY BEEN INVOLVED IN DISRUPTIVE INCIDENTS IN SETUBAL. HE SAID CUBANS HAD INFILTRATED PORTUGAL IN VARIOUS WAYS, INCLUDING THROUGH SPAIN.

7. PORTUGAL'S NEED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE: THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER SA CARNEIRO FELT IT WAS TRUE THAT, AS SOME HAVE SUGGESTED, PORTUGAL HAS MORE ECONOMIC AID AVAILABLE THAN IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO SPEND. SA CARNEIRO CONCURRED, BLAMING THE SITUATION ON THE LACK OF A DEVELOPMENT PLAN. AMBASSADOR THEMIDO COMMENTED THAT DISORGANIZATION, RESULTING FROM PORTUGAL'S LOSS OF COMPETENT TECHNICIANS, INCREASED THE DIFFICULTY OF IMPLEMENTING AID PROGRAM. SA CARNEIRO COMMENTED "IT IS ALSO PART OF AN ELECTORAL GAME PLAN THAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE USING". RE SECRETARY'S OBSERVATION THAT FINANCE MINISTER SALGADO ZENHA WAS DUE TO ARRIVE IN THE US SOON, SA CARNEIRO SAID SALGADO ZENHA WAS A SOCIALIST WHO REPRESENTED ONLY A "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" HE SAID THAT THE PPD WOULD PRESENT A DEVELOPMENT PLAN AFTER THE ELECTION CALLING FOR 1 BILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR FROM ALL DONORS AND ONLY SUPPORT FROM THE US AND EC FOR THIS PLAN WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE THE SOLUTION OF PORTUGAL'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. KISSINGER

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